5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d).

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te'*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage.

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chia. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holël,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*Holël is one of a large class of words ending in -el, -il, or -ul, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. tal-il, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and venienda. hol-il primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927/NV9 Tzeltal NV9

be of great interest could it be ascertained whether Tzeltal really is the parent tongue of Zotzil, or whether Zotzil, with its marked vocalic individuality, has not corrupted Tzeltal from an original form more closely allied to the lowland languages.

The alphabet used here is modeled on that of Dr. Tozzer,* with a few changes and some additions. It would, perhaps, be possible to enlarge the range of *k* sounds yet further, but the result would be only to make the present records needlessly difficult of comparison with the older lists.

PHONETICS. The languages recorded here closely resemble Maya itself in their phonetic system, although a slightly wider range of sounds, especially in the vowels, is found. This may in part be due to uncertainties of pronunciation; certain sounds occur differently in the same word spoken by different men, e. g., *ts'* and *tc'* in Tzeltal, final ' and *k* in Yocotan Chontal. If enough Indians could be questioned, a normal form could undoubtedly be derived from many of these alternates. The presence of the *k* fortis (*k'*), velar *k* (*q*), and the palatalized *g* (*x*), with the frequent stop ('), gives a wider range of *k* and *g* sounds than in Maya.† These, with the fortis forms of *t* and *p*, and the dental surds *ts* and *tc*, make the languages distinctly harsh and unpleasant to the ear. In addition, the Tzeltal and Chaneabal have an ugly, whining tone in ordinary conversation, very much increased when emphasis is desired. Yocotan has an unusual range of nasals.

CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes one velar, three palatals, alveolars, and a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis, a dorsal, nasal, and labials. It is difficult to distinguish between *b*, *p*, and *w*, although they are probably not interchangeable.‡ In Jacalteca the *p* at first appeared to be a *w*, but was found to be actually distinct; the sound is almost impossible to imitate.

Mention should be made of the added letter *r*, already suggested by Dr. Tozzer, who says:§

"I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an *r* sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a double vowel . . . I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list."

*Tozzer, 1921.
†Cf. Tozzer, op. cit., p. 17.
‡Tozzer, op. cit., p. 18, and Gates, 1930, p. 612.
§Ibid, page 18.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	n	—	—
Dental	—	ts tc	ts' tc'	j c	—	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, w and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."

ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."

tc is the *ch* in English "child."

c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

VOWELS. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinctions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kĕ*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ū*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ŭ* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai*, *oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

000 INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

000 The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

APPENDIX VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by SENOR AUREO CRUZ, of Toniná

TEXT I

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PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*	
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us	
Dios	*tcul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God (of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and
bin	*ma-ca-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of
k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*	*tcitc'*
our guardian of us	God (of)		blessed the world	blood
bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us
au-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*kaHwal*	
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)	
ka-nitcan.				
thy son.				

TEXT II

539

TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*tax*	*lum-al*	*c-oon*	*ta'*	
I	went out I	from (my)	land the	went I	to	
yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarc-etik*	
other	lands	to	see	other	places	
y	*lak-il*‖	*s-na*	*es-etik*		*baiyel*	
and	look at	their (?) houses	Old Ones ("los antiguos")		plenty	

[192]
[193]

*This was originally given sok, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to yun.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-ba-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *ta*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-el* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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614
621
171
601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601
602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology [193] for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔaḷ* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẖ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniẖ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an [174]

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[601] [171] obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzo'ontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *ʔultatik ta ʔulʌn*, and the lord spirits of the church, *ʔultatik ta ʔulna*. The prefix *ʔul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the *ʔuleletik* (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s*.

The Competition for Power

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . .*, common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštatet.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-et*, and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

192 193

196 577 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 626 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [121] [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [114] [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

[P. 210-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[6] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ikoltawanehetik*, the fe-

[6] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.'

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors.

[P. 216-B]